

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 12129

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, BQG
SUBJECT: START OF INNER-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS

REFS: (A) 75 USBER 698, (B) BONN 11642

SUMMARY. AT THE JUNE 29 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE FRG REP OFFICIALLY INFORMED THE ALLIES OF THE BEGINNING OF FRG/GDR DISCUSSIONS ON THE NORTHERN AUTOBAHN AND PROVIDED DETAILS OF THE GDR'S INITIAL NEGOTIATING POSITION. HE ALSO REPORTED ON THE FRG/GDR DISCUSSIONS ON THE LUMP SUM PAYMENT FOR TRANSIT TRAVEL, THE TELTOW AND FRG/BERLIN CANALS AND NON-COMMERCIAL PAYMENTS. THE TALKS ARE BEING CONDUCTED IN STRICTEST SECRECY AND ARE EXPECTED TO INVOLVE HARD BARGAINING BY BOTH SIDES. END SUMMARY.

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1. AT THE JUNE 29 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE FRG REP (VON RICHTHOFEN) SAID THAT HE WISHED FORMALLY TO INFORM THE ALLIES THAT THE FRG HAS TAKEN UP NEGOTIATIONS ON THE NORTHERN AUTOBAHN WITH THE GDR FOR THE PURPOSE OF INCLUDING IT AS ONE OF THE FRG/BERLIN TRANSIT ROUTES. HE MADE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT (INFORMAL TRANSLATION):

"WITH REFERENCE TO THE CONTINUING BRIEFINGS ON THE PREPARATORY DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE GDR ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NORTHERN AUTOBAHN, I STATE IN THE NAME OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE, WHICH IS DESIGNATED WITHIN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS RESPONSIBLE FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE THREE POWERS, THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN UP OFFICIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GDR CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN AUTOBAHN BETWEEN BERLIN (WEST) AND HAMBURG TO BE A TRANSIT ROUTE, FOR WHICH THE TRANSIT REGIME, IN CONFORMITY WITH ARTICLE 3 OF THE TRANSIT AGREEMENT AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, WILL BE APPLICABLE. THE FOREIGN OFFICE WILL CONSULT IN COMPREHENSIVE FASHION WITH THE EMBASSIES OF THE THREE POWERS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND NOTIFY THEM OFFICIALLY OF THE RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE THE SIGNATURE OF THE GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT ("REGIERUNGSABKOMMEN") WHICH HAS BEEN REACHED, IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THEM AN OPPORTUNITY, WITH REFERENCE TO THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, TO TAKE NOTE OF THE RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO CONFIRM THEIR CONFORMITY WITH THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. THE CHIEF NEGOTIATOR FOR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE HEAD OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO THE GDR, STATE SECRETARY GAUS, WILL INDICATE TO THE

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GDR THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS ACTING IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE THREE POWERS."

2. HE SAID THAT THE FIRST ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN ON JUNE 21 AND A WHOLE COMPLEX OF SUBJECTS IS BEING NEGOTIATED WITH THE GDR. VON RICHTHOFEN ASKED THAT THE INFORMATION BE HELD CLOSELY BY THE ALLIES (IN THE FRG IT IS RESTRICTED TO A FEW TOP OFFICIALS) SINCE A LEAK COULD DO GREAT DAMAGE TO THEIR PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS. THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE BEING CARRIED ON AT A HIGH LEVEL IN EAST BERLIN AND THE REPORTS THAT FRG PERMREP GAUS AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NIER ARE CONDUCTING THEM IS A COVER. GAUS' NEGOTIATING PARTNER IS ANOTHER GDR OFFICIAL. IN A RESPONSE TO A QUESTION BY THE US REP AS TO THE IDENTITY OF THE GDR PARTNER, VON RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT HE IS A STATE SECRETARY AND IS THE SAME PERSON AS THE ONE WITH WHOM GAUS HAD NEGOTIATED IN 1975. (COMMENT: ACCORDING TO REF A, GAUS' NEGOTIATING PARTNER WAS SCHALCK, A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF STATE SECRETARY BEIL. HE WAS THEN DESCRIBED AS "A TOUGH PARTNER WHO KEPT IDEOLOGY OUT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, UNLIKE NIER OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHO HAS AN IDEOLOGICAL SUPER-

STRUCTURE FOR EVERY ISSUE." END COMMENT). VON

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RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE BEING CARRIED
ON WITHOUT DELEGATIONS AND THAT THE FRG WAS COMMUNICAT-
ING WITH GAUS ONLY ORALLY AND NOT BY CABLE. HE SAID
THAT THE GDR REP HAS FULL NEGOTIATING POWERS AND THAT
GAUS HAS A MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE EVERYTHING BUT THE
QUESTION OF CANALS BETWEEN THE FRG AND BERLIN.

3. THE SPECIFIC SUBJECTS UNDER DISCUSSION ARE:

- A. NORTHERN AUTOBAHN AND BORDER CROSSING POINTS
- B. WARTHA-HERLESHAUSEN CROSSING POINT IMPROVEMENTS
- C. TELTOW CANAL, IN CONNECTION WITH THE QUESTION
OF CANALS BETWEEN THE FRG AND BERLIN
- D. TRANSIT LUMP SUM PAYMENT
- E. NON-COMMERCIAL PAYMENTS

4. VON RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT THE FRG HAS STILL TO MAKE
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IMPORTANT POLITICAL DECISIONS ON THE QUESTION OF THE FRG/BERLIN CANALS (BUT NOT THE TELTOW CANAL) AND THE PROBLEM OF WHETHER THE EXISTING BERLIN/HAMBURG TRANSIT ROUTE (ROUTE F-5) WILL BE DROPPED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE NORTHERN AUTOBAHN. HE SAID THAT THE FRG HAS ALSO NOT DECIDED ON ITS POSITION ON THE TOTAL COST OF THE PROJECTS OR THE PERCENTAGE TO BE PAID BY EACH OF THE FRG AND THE GDR.

5. REGARDING THE GDR INTERESTS, THE GDR REP EMPHASIZED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS THAT THE INTEREST OF THE FRG IS POLITICAL WHILE THAT OF THE GDR IS TO OBTAIN HARD CURRENCY AND TO MAKE USE OF AVAILABLE PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY. THE GDR REP SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD RESUME AGAIN IN AUGUST AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE CONCLUDED IN SEPTEMBER. ONCE THE OVERALL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED, REMAINING DETAILS CAN BE DISCUSSED BY TECHNICAL-LEVEL EXPERTS OF BOTH SIDES. WITH RESPECT TO THE FORM, THE GDR WOULD PREFER THE MODEL REACHED IN 1975, I.E., AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS. VON RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT THE FRG HAS REACHED NO DECISION YET ON THE FORM IT PREFERENCES, WHETHER AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS OR A GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT ("REGIERUNGSABKOMMEN").

6. VON RICHTHOFEN PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING FURTHER DETAILS ON THE SPECIFIC TOPICS DISCUSSED:

(A) NORTHERN AUTOBAHN

--THE GDR SUGGESTED THAT THE BERLIN CROSSING POINT OF THE NORTHERN AUTOBAHN BE SEPARATE FROM THE CROSSING POINT FOR VISITOR TRAFFIC INTO THE GDR. THE GDR REP
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REITERATED THE EARLIER PROPOSAL THAT ZERNDORFERWEG BE USED AND SAID THAT NEITHER THE DUCKBILL ROUTE NOR THE HEILIGENSEE CROSSING POINT ARE FEASIBLE. VON RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT THIS IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE BERLIN SENAT AND IS LESS THAN WHAT THE GDR OFFERED BEFORE.

--THE GDR NEGOTIATOR SUGGESTED THAT THE NORTHERN ROUTE FOR THE AUTOBAHN BE USED, AND THAT IT CROSS THE FRG/GDR BORDER AT ZARRENTIN. THE NEGOTIATOR REPEATED THAT THE GDR IS NOT PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE ON THE LOCATION

OF THE ROUTE, THIS BEING A SOVEREIGN GDR DECISION, BUT THAT IT IS WILLING TO LISTEN TO FRG ARGUMENTS FOR THE SOUTHERN ROUTE. HOWEVER, SINCE CONSIDERATION OF THE SOUTHERN ROUTE WOULD REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION AND TECHNICAL STUDIES WITHIN THE GDR, AN FRG PREFERENCE FOR THE SOUTHERN ROUTE WOULD DELAY THE NEGOTIATIONS

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FOR MORE THAN ONE YEAR. GAUS INQUIRED WHETHER THE GDR WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO A SPUR FROM THE AUTOBAHN TO LOWER SAXONY, BUT THE GDR NEGOTIATOR, WHO WAS SURPRISED BY THIS PROPOSAL, INDICATED IT WAS PROBABLY NOT FEASIBLE.

--CONCERNING THE EXISTING HAMBURG-BERLIN TRANSIT ROUTE, F-5, THE GDR NEGOTIATOR SAID THAT WITH THE NEW NORTHERN AUTOBAHN, THE F-5 WOULD BE OBSOLETE.

--GAUS INQUIRED WHETHER FRG FIRMS COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE CONSTRUCTION, BUT THE GDR NEGOTIATOR SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT POSSIBLE. THE GDR WANTS THE HARD CURRENCY COMING FROM THE AUTOBAHN CONSTRUCTION, BUT IS IS PRE-

PARED TO CONSIDER PURCHASING MACHINES FROM THE FRG.

--CONCERNING THE TIME SCHEDULE, ONEYEAR PREPATORY
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WORK WILL BE NEEDED AND 2-3 YEARS REQUIRED TO BUILD THE
AUTOBAHN.

--WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF THE PORTION OF COST
TO BE BORN BY EACH SIDE, THE GDR POSITION IS THAT THE
FRG SHOULD BEAR THE FULL COST OF THE PORTION OF THE
AUTOBAHN (SOME TEN KILOMETERS) FROM WEST BERLIN TO THE
POINT WHERE A CONNECTION WOULD BE MADE TO THE ROSTOCK
AUTOBAHN. FROM THERE TO THE TURNING-OFF POINT AT
WITTSTOCK, THE GDR WANTS THE FRG TO PAY 75 PERCENT OF
WHAT IT COST THE GDR TO BUILD THAT PORTION OF THE
AUTOBAHN, A STRETCH ALREADY IN EXISTENCE. GAUS REJECTED
THIS ON THE SPOT. FOR THE NEW PORTION OF THE AUTOBAHN,
SOME 125 KILOMETERS FROM WITTSTOCK TO THE BORDER, THE GDR
PROPOSED THAT THE FRG PAY 85-95 PERCENT OF THE COST.
THE GDR ALSO WANTS THE FRG TO PAY THE FULL COST OF THE
BORDER CROSSING POINT IN BERLIN AND ALMOST THE FULL
COST OF THE CROSSING POINT AT THE FRG/GDR BORDER.

--IN SUMMARY, VON RICHTHOFEN SAID THAT THE FRG EXPECTS
HARD BARGAINING WITH THE GDR.

(B) LUMP SUM PAYMENT FOR TRANSIT TRAVEL

THE GDR SAID THAT IT WOULD AGREE TO A 50 PERCENT
INCREASE IN THE PAYMENT, TO SOME DM 600-MILLION PER
YEAR. THE GDR IS PREPARED IN EXCHANGE TO AGREE TO A
FIVE-YEAR AGREEMENT WITH NO REVISION CLAUSE AND THE
NORTHERN AUTOBAHN, WHICH WOULD BE OPERATIONAL FOR ONLY
A SHORT PART OF THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, WOULD BE INCLUDED.

(C) TELTOW CANAL

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THE GDR INDICATED IT WOULD NOT FORMALLY RECOGNIZE THE
TELTOW CANAL AS PART OF THE GDR/FRG TRANSIT SYSTEM,
BUT INDICATED THAT IT WOULD DO SO IN PRACTICE BY NOT
REQUIRING A VISA FOR THE SHORT STRETCH WHEN THE CANAL
LEAVES WEST BERLIN, ENTERS EAST GERMANY, AND AGAIN
ENTERS WEST BERLIN. CONCERNING THE CANAL ROUTES

BETWEEN THE FRG AND BERLIN, THE GDR NEGOTIATOR REPEATED
THE DEMAND FOR FUNDS TO PAY FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF
THE CANALS OR FOR INCREASED FEES.

(D) NONCOMMERCIAL PAYMENTS

THE GDR WILL CONSIDER MAKING A LIMITED AMOUNT OF FUNDS
AVAILABLE FOR THESE PURPOSES.
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